

SOCIALISTS AND THE COLONIES

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THE INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA

IN the celebrations of Gold Coast independence a few well-wishers in Britain can feel as happy as the Fabian Colonial Bureau. On the conceptions of political freedom and anti-imperialism propagated by the Labour movement in the period up to the war, the Fabians built a policy designed to eliminate colonial status and colonialism and to secure the elements of nationhood and economic and social well-being in the colonial territories. The Ministers of the Labour Government 1945-51 applied this policy and the emergence of a free independent commonwealth state in West Africa owes much to their initiative and wisdom and to their fidelity to the principles of our Movement.

The achievement in the Gold Coast in so short a time is terrific and owes much to the statesmanship of Ghana nationalists and the devotion of governors and administrators. The fissiparous tendency of the territory and its tribal divisions, the illiteracy and political immaturity of the people and the uncertain and undeveloped economy offered excuse to resist the growing spirit of nationalism. The popular enthusiasm for responsible government and for education and the development of modern services throughout the territory has demanded a forward policy, which has received searching criticism from distinguished gentlemen who cling to out-moded imperialism. The Labour Government, supported by imaginative Colonial Office officials, determined the remarkable pace of political and economic progress since the war.

It is natural in the circumstances of the modern world for Africans to be in a hurry. But while we congratulate Ghana on the attainment of full responsibility and independent statehood and wish her and Dr. Nkrumah all success and wisdom in the future, it is not unfriendly to remind her of a few of the difficulties which may lie ahead. For in Ghana national unity and purpose have still

to be convincingly established and the regions reconciled to acceptance of a unitary government. The making of a working constitution which fits regions marked by disparity in the levels of sophistication, the weaving into a constitution of the claims of tradition which belong to a very different political past and the effort to create a system of political democracy based on western ideas, present a formidable task which will take a long time to accomplish.

The creation of Ghana has emphasised some of the difficulties in the way of territories coming to full responsibility. We wish to see the free operation of a genuine political democracy. But people emerging from tribal society have to adopt political conceptions with the practice of which they are not familiar, to make personal adjustments that are not easy and to learn techniques and procedures which belong to a new political order. Democracy is required to work without experience to guide it or time for experiment. It is too much to expect that the values and institutions of Western political democracy can be assimilated by disintegrating tribal society in the space of a few decades. But it is important that the new emerging nations should set high standards of public probity and tolerance as well as retain political flexibility for constitutional adjustment in the light of temperament, tradition and experience.

It is no less important that central government should be firm and act within the framework of law, that it should not be oppressive but show respect for minority rights and informed public opinion. The task in Ghana is to shape disinterested policy and decision at the centre, to establish a wide public confidence in central government, to give as much authority to the main regions as is consistent with national policy and to develop the practice of sound local government. Also the

administration of the Northern Territories, formerly British protectorates, becomes a heavy and difficult responsibility for an inexperienced government deficient in resources. The situation arising from proposals to transfer protected people to the control of other governments should receive more attention from Fabians than it has so far, for already in a number of areas in the world there has been surrender to the claims of nationalism without sufficient forethought and safeguards for the protected immature peoples.

The Ghana Government recognises the importance of extending education at all levels. It has shown sense while accelerating the change to African personnel, in her administrative and technical service, in making use of experienced British officials willing to serve. Heavy demands will be made on the country's economy. It is important that resources should become diversified and revenues be secured which will meet the rising costs of development and recurrent charges. The threat of the British Government to terminate the grants and services of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, and to diminish the use of the Colonial Development Corporation, call for our urgent pressure at Westminster for a radical revision of policy in this field. Britain has enjoyed great advantages from the Gold Coast economy and in the next critical decade should give the co-operation which Ghana needs. It should be remembered that the new State is taking over our liabilities for development of the Northern Territories and British Togoland and faces a heavy responsibility in regard to education and social services in other parts of the Territory. Our wish is to see Ghana economically viable and credit-worthy.

The statesmanlike proposals published in the White Paper¹ have created an improved atmosphere in which it will be possible for the Government and Opposition to solve the problems still outstanding. Dr. Busia, Leader of the Opposition, has welcomed the new Constitution, whose safeguards include greatly increased powers for the five regions; the creation of a House of Chiefs for each region; the recognition of the special position of the Asantehene; the provisions for an independent civil service and judiciary, and the addition of the important clauses that provide for a simple majority of two-thirds of the regional assemblies as well as two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly before the entrenched clauses in the constitution can be amended. We have great hopes for Ghana's future and the contribution she can make to the building of a multi-racial Commonwealth.

A. Creech-Jones, M.P.

CENTRAL AFRICA

THE Colonial Secretary's visit to Central Africa has had both good and bad aspects. On the one hand, he answered Sir Roy Welensky's complaint that Africans look to London instead of to Salisbury, by rightly emphasising that it is London's responsibility to safeguard African interests until they turn voluntarily to the Federal capital and Government. His pledge that this responsibility will be fully accepted until it is no longer needed may be valuable in withstanding the pressure for increased Federal power, which can be expected over the next few years. On the other hand, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, like his predecessor, Lord Chandos, has completely failed to recognise the gravity of the political issue within the Federation. It is certainly not sufficient for him to tell the inhabitants of these territories that he believes that the Federal franchise should be confined to 'responsible' persons. Africans know that amongst those considered sufficiently responsible to have the vote are the members of the Segregation Society, who publicly demand that only white men should vote; the Southern Rhodesian Government, which recently deported Nyasalanders; members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, who have transferred the onus of legal proof from the prosecution to the accused. Unless British representatives at least recognise that in Central Africa it is the Africans who have accepted the Western principles of democracy, whilst the white community is almost wholly committed to racial oligarchy, the realities of the political problem will continue to be dangerously avoided.

The question which has never been honestly faced, let alone answered, in this country is why Africans in Central Africa should believe that their ultimate fate is any safer in the hands of Rhodesian white settlers than has been that of their brothers in the Union under the power of the South African white community. It may be legitimate to tell the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that purely negative opposition to Federation is sterile. Now, however, a new and more positive proposal has come from them. In Nyasaland there is a move to break from the Federation and link with Tanganyika. Although both these countries are at present poor the proposal should not be pushed aside on that ground alone. Nyasaland would be provided with access to the sea, and both countries would feel a happier security in the knowledge that whatever their pace of development, it could be based politically on democratic principles. In the constitutional and political arguments which are bound to develop between now and 1960, this proposal must be seriously considered.

¹ The Proposed Constitution of Ghana. Cmd. 71. H.M.S.O. 8d.

FRENCH TOGOLAND

UNITED NATIONS spokesmen have often stated that Trusteeship Areas should form a pattern of evolution for other colonial areas. The recent debate¹ in the French Assembly indicates that Togoland developments have speeded up political advance in French Black Africa.

In August, 1956, French Togoland was declared an autonomous republic and provided with the outward trappings of self-government, a legislative assembly to be elected every five years by universal suffrage, a Council of Ministers and a President. The French Government argued that with the achievement of self-government the purpose of Trusteeship as laid down in the Charter, had been fulfilled. Nevertheless, following the example of British Togoland, the people would be consulted and a plebiscite was arranged for October, 1956. The Trusteeship Council was invited to send observers, but, by an even vote, declined, and the French legitimately proceeded alone. Out of a population of about one million, 438,436 registered and 71 per cent voted in favour of the ending of Trusteeship. The Togoland Legislative Assembly therefore instructed the French government to request the Council to recognise that trusteeship status was no longer compatible with the existence of the Togolese Republic.

On careful examination the republic would scarcely seem to have reached what we recognise as independence. The crux of the matter is stated in the Statute: 'with a view to the management of those matters of common interest to the French Republic and the autonomous republic of Togoland, matters which relate essentially to defence, external relations and the republic of Togoland's membership of the franc zone, the population which is now granted Togoland citizenship continues to be represented in the French Parliament'. France further has the regulation of the penal code, system of public freedom, finance and higher education. As her representative in Togoland, there is to be a High Commissioner who will preside over the Council of Ministers; he has powers to delay the passing of laws and is responsible for maintaining law and order.

Nevertheless, both the French representative and the Togolese Minister of Finance, in stating their case to the Trusteeship Council during January, reiterated that the people of Togoland had made a clear choice and accused the Trusteeship Council of not accepting a plebiscite decision which in the case of British Togoland had been welcomed; nor could it be said that the referendum was not impartial, since it was no fault of the Government's that the Council refused to send representatives. In view of the Trusteeship Council's usual demand

for the hastening of timetables for self-government and independence, the French expressed surprise at the unusual criticism that they had speeded up political development in Togoland; they had acted on the recommendations of the Visiting Mission of 1955 in ascertaining and giving effect to the wishes of the inhabitants.

Article 76b of the Charter calls for the achievement of either self-government or independence. French Togoland has achieved neither internal self-government nor independence. The fundamental differences between French and British colonial policy in West Africa are clearly demonstrated in this divided trusteeship territory.

CARIBBEAN CAPITAL

THE recent selection of Trinidad as the capital site of the British Caribbean Federation ends one of the more fiercely argued passages in the long discussion which has accompanied the project from its inception. Trinidad was, in fact, the island chosen by the first committee to study the problem of where to place the capital, but later Grenada, one of the Windwards group, was substituted. Then, at the last Federation conference in 1956, this decision, too, was set aside and a United Kingdom Commission, comprised of three members who had never visited the Caribbean previously, was appointed to make recommendations. The Commissioners recommended Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad as the possibles, in that order of preference, but the delegates to the Standing Federation Committee who met in Jamaica during January and February this year and with whom the final word lay, reverted to Trinidad.

Trinidad is the southernmost in the chain of British islands, being a few miles only from the north coast of South America. Already susceptible to the commercial attractions of its nearest continental neighbour, Venezuela, Trinidad is likely to become even more inclined in that direction with the coming of Federal independence. The decision went to Trinidad because of support from the smaller islands in the Windward and Leeward groups which have always been drawn by the larger island's wealth; but Trinidadians are in no doubt that their last-minute success in the bid for the capital is largely owing to the personal diplomacy of their Chief Minister, Dr. Eric Williams. Dr. Williams, the newest comer to the front rank of Caribbean politicians, seems to have made a decisive impression on the delegates to the Jamaica meeting, and this may influence strongly the future course of Federal affairs. Be that as it may, the choice of the capital site will allow preparations to go ahead for the first Federal elections which are to be held early next year, bringing the first Federal Government into being.

¹ *The Times*, February 4th, 1957.

Eyeless in Ghana

AN EXPERIMENT IN CENTRAL BANKING

ONE fundamental weakness of the Sterling Area as managed under the inspiration of the Bank of England was that it tended to sterilise the savings of the underdeveloped areas¹. These savings arose in a liquid form—either increased hoards of bank-notes or increased savings deposits. And there was little if any outlet in these areas for liquid investments. Thus even the commercial banks—which were under no legal compulsion—were tempted to find suitable assets in London. The Currency Funds and Savings Banks were compelled to hold a 100% reserve in London. And a large part of the collective savings of colonial governments, in the shape of budget surpluses or sinking funds were also accumulated there.

Now it is quite obvious that for none of these purposes would a 100% liquidity in investment be required, even though primary producing countries are (after the expiry of most of the much maligned bulk purchase agreements) once more subject to severe economic instability due to violent—and mostly pointless—fluctuations in prices. The fact that a 100% liquidity is not required has been frankly acknowledged by the Bank of England and the Colonial Office. The Crown Agents which handle most of these reserves have invested a large portion in very illiquid securities indeed. (In consequence up to 30% capital losses have been incurred by these poverty-stricken areas on their London investments. Quite apart from the moral implications, this shows a shocking state of incompetence on the part of those responsible, and is not likely to enhance our claim to either moral or financial leadership.)

One of the obvious ways in which this sorry state of affairs could be altered is to permit the use of part of these reserves for the finance of development expenditure. The creation of Central Banks on the model of the Commonwealth of Australia, which has proven itself in circumstances of unparalleled legal and economic difficulties, would be an essential step in this direction. The Commonwealth Bank is no mere Central Bank. It is able directly to influence credit conditions because it is in charge of the extended savings bank network and also has an affiliated trading bank. It has rural and industrial credit departments as well as extensive powers to call in the increase in the deposits of the private banks which it thus sterilises whenever an over expansion of credit threatens. Thus it can function even in conditions where Central Banks thoughtlessly fashioned on the model of the Bank of England or the Federal Reserve System of the U.S. could have no functional basis (because they are based on the existence of a highly developed capital and money market structure).

Unfortunately the power of the Bank of England under a Tory Government is almost as absolute as its ignorance. And, in consequence, there issued

from the Bank a series of reports on the banking organisation of the emergent independent (and of the still dependent) areas which could be disregarded only at the peril of antagonising the Bank. No doubt political pressure could have been used to neutralise this potential threat; but in most colonial areas there was little realisation of the importance of the question, and the threat it implies to the future. The Colonial Office, too, seems completely unaware of the gravity of the danger which this thoughtless orthodoxy will inevitably entail to the cohesion of the Commonwealth and to the very leadership of Britain, the maintenance of which is the purported, if completely hopeless, aim of this policy. Thus from Malaya to the West Indies and from one corner of Africa to the other the Bank's experts were busy. If they did not deny altogether the need for a Central Bank, they advocated just that sort of Central Bank which has proved completely useless for the purpose of orderly economic progress.

Capital for Development

What is needed is a mobilisation at the utmost speed of all available capital for development. The weakness of certain important primary product prices underlines this central need. What is offered is a Central Bank that is to play no role in this, but restrict itself to a lifeless imitation of the Bank of England—by functioning as closely as possible to the pattern set in the currency boards which have failed so conspicuously to mobilise savings.

The Central Bank of Ghana is no exception to this rule, though theoretically the reserved ratio is only 50 per cent. It is in practice to issue a 'national currency' but, as this national currency is to be backed fully by sterling, this is a mere quibble. It will be no more and no less national than the money now in circulation. While it may advance up to 10 per cent. of the revenue to the Government, these advances must be repaid before the end of the financial year. This reproduces the situation in Britain up to 60 years ago which contributed so much to the helplessness of the Bank of England to mitigate the swings in business activity. As Treasury Bills are one of the most useful instruments for a permanent mobilisation of liquid savings, this provision, if taken seriously, could prevent the establishment even of the vestiges of a money market in Accra—for which there would otherwise seem some possibility. Investors will have to continue to look towards London for safe and reliable investment media.

Nor it is clear whether the Central Bank will be in close enough relation to the Savings Bank system and the Ghana Commercial Bank to exert that wholesome pressure on the private banks which is one of the reasons for the outstanding success of the Australian Commonwealth Bank.

All this happens at a fateful moment in the history of the Gold Coast. Cocoa prices have taken a

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¹ Some of the technicalities were discussed in *Those Sterling Balances*. VENTURE, March, 1954.

BRITISH TOGOLAND AND THE U.N.

E'VENTS moved smoothly because they were 'right,' the Indian delegate told the United Nations in December, 1956, as he introduced the draft resolution recommending the termination of the trusteeship over British Togoland. This view is borne out by the progress made in the last two and a half years. The United Nations was given a clear lead by the British and Indian Governments. It acted without delay. The successive steps were as follows. In 1954, the British delegation gave notice that the Gold Coast would soon be responsible for all its affairs and that Togoland, so long administered together with the Gold Coast, should be allowed to join the new independent state. The view taken of colonial countries by the majority of delegations is not a charitable one, and this development necessitated a revision of many assumptions and misgivings about the egotism of imperialist colonial powers.

The majority was committed to the championing of a united Togoland independent of the Gold Coast. However, ideas were revised and in 1955 the General Assembly agreed to a plebiscite, to be supervised by a U.N. Commissioner and his staff. In May, 1956, the plebiscite put the choice before the Togolandese either to join an independent Gold Coast or to keep the *status quo* pending other arrangements for the territory. 82 per cent of the voters turned out. The majority in favour of integration was not a large one. Only 58 per cent voted for this solution, but in the subsequent general election in July the Convention People's Party and the Northern People's Party, who are united in favour of integration despite their other constitutional disagreements, polled a larger majority. The Trusteeship Council then voted by 13 to 0 (with one abstention) for the transfer of administration from the United Kingdom to the Gold Coast. In November, 1956, the Fourth Committee reviewed this resolution, heard counter-petitions and the views of the delegations, and finally sent an equivalent resolution to the General Assembly which was endorsed by the massive majority of 63 to 0 (with 9 abstentions). The British proposal was thus welcomed by the United Nations and on March 6th, 1957, the Trust territory will be part of Ghana.

Abstentions at U.N.

Ghana is thus enlarged by 423,000 citizens. Moreover, Togoland, North and South, shares the characteristics of the neighbouring ecological zones in Ghana. The Northern Togolandese have voted strongly in favour of integration and equally unambiguously for the Northern People's Party. Those states at the United Nations who abstained—both the colonial powers France, Belgium, Portugal and Italy and the anti-colonial countries in Central and South America—did so because they were uneasy about committing the United Nations charge to a Ghana still in the throes of heated constitutional controversy. On the other hand, a clear majority has opted for union now, disappointing those Southern Ewe and others still in favour of an indepen-

dent Togoland as recommended by the All-Ewe Conference, the Togoland Congress and, on the French side, the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise. Quite probably the new Ghana will press for an *irredenta* in the French territory, where her peoples have numerous ethnic and economic links. Meanwhile the French have conducted and won a plebiscite which commits the French trust territory to the French Union.

Togoland is a thin strip of territory stretching from the coast into the interior, as do so many colonial territories, and intersects a number of cultural zones running from East to West. The merging of the two Togolands would have re-established the old German colonial boundaries which existed from 1884 to 1914 when the territory was occupied by the British and French, but it would not have resolved the cultural and economic contradictions and would still have left the Gold Coast Ewe dissatisfied. Despite all arguments, the Togoland Congress feels badly let down by the United Nations whose ally—even creature—it was for such a long period, almost until yesterday. It has protested at the interpretation of the plebiscite results, but did not contest the impartiality and fairness of the plebiscite administration. In fact, the heartening evidence of the calm and interest of the population in the plebiscite bids well for similar experiments. Snr. Espinosa y Prieto, a Mexican and the U.N. Commissioner, tabled his report with so much detail that other countries can profit by the Togoland experience. The open diplomacy of the U.N. has often been deemed of dubious value, but such detailed publicity will undoubtedly help other territories preparing for consultation with the people.

In the meantime, the Gold Coast is enlarged by Togoland; the U.N. and Britain are reduced by another ward. While in the districts the plebiscite inevitably got entangled with parochial considerations and politicians, the way in which it was conducted does not compare ill with similar European nationality decisions; it is of interest to all dependencies.

LEO SILBERMAN

GHANA INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATION

Central London Fabian Society, in association with the Colonial Bureau, is arranging an international reception on Friday, March 22nd, in honour of the achievement of independence by the Gold Coast. Distinguished guests include Mr. T. Hutton-Mills, the Commissioner for the Gold Coast; Mr. J. E. Jantuah, Deputy Commissioner; Mr. M. T. Mbu, Commissioner for Nigeria; Mr. T. O. C. Ojiako, Commissioner for Eastern Nigeria; Chief M. E. R. Okoroduro, Commissioner for Western Nigeria; the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P.; the Rt. Hon. A. Creech-Jones, M.P.; and Mr. James Callaghan, M.P. Besides the formal celebration, the programme includes dancing and entertainment. The reception will be held at 8 p.m. in Hampstead Town Hall. Tickets (excluding refreshments) price 6s. each, from Mrs. M. Winchester, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1. (Please enclose s.a.e.)

KENYA NOTES

Mrs. White was a member of the

THERE are so many underlying uncertainties in East Africa that any visitor is tempted to concentrate on the more self-evident realities. Some of them are striking enough by comparison with a previous visit in the summer of 1954. British Parliamentarians no longer require a police escort; the growth, both upwards and outwards, of commercial and industrial Nairobi and, to a lesser extent, Mombasa; the new Royal Technical College in Nairobi and the new villages which give a singularly tidy appearance to the landscape in Kikuyu country.

One can add to the list and note the very proper gratification of those concerned at these signs of progress. Things are moving in Kenya. But one has only to stop a moment to realise that, with all these changes, most of the basic problems are still there. The population grows apace, but vital statistics are sketchy and no one knows quite how fast. African living standards, although improving, are still for the majority wretchedly low. Changes in land holding are setting up new tensions in African life, but no one knows quite what they are. The detainees are coming out of the Kenya camps, but what their attitude to life will be five years hence, nobody can tell.

So one has to try to match the positive and the negative and to strike a balance somewhere. The end of physical terror has brought a relaxation of attitude. Europeans are once more praising the Kikuyu for aptitude and intelligence and many who employed them formerly are thinking of having them back. This would ease the problem of poverty among those sent home in the Emergency who may have little or no land in the reserves, but meanwhile members of other tribes have taken their places and will not look kindly on being pushed out. In the detention camps which we visited, we had the strong impression that the abuses which undoubtedly occurred during the Emergency had largely been checked and that the Government is at last pursuing a positive policy and doing a great deal to restore the majority of the detainees to their homes as soon as possible.

Detainees and the Kikuyu Tribe

There are still black spots, but their existence is more readily admitted by the authorities, who now declare that the vast camp at Manyani was a blunder and agree that Mageta Island has 'gone sour' and must be cleared. To those at home who think that the remedy is to open all doors to-morrow, one must say that it is really not so simple. Mau Mau was a most complex movement and involved a bitter fratricidal struggle within the Kikuyu tribe. The fact that the detainees have not been tried in a court of law and that a few completely innocent people may even now be detained does not justify the conclusion that most untried people are innocent. On the contrary, the vast majority of detainees have been involved in

some degree in this civil war, in which it is reckoned that up to 12,000 people were murdered, nearly all African. The fact that many are now being released is also not in itself an indication of past innocence, but only of their present attitude in the camp, on the one hand, and the acceptability in their home reserve, on the other.

Procedure for Release

The pipe-line procedure, by which detainees are now being released at the rate of about 1,500 a month, is the method chosen to prepare men and women for reabsorption in the tribe. Those who seem ready to go back are moved from the main camp to a works camp, where they are brought in touch with tribal elders from their own district. If the camp and the tribal authorities agree and the administration has no grave reason for dissenting, the detainee goes home. In some districts, he may have an intervening period in an 'open camp' under the surveillance of the chief, before the village finally decides to have him back. This procedure may, like any other, be open to abuse, but now that the Government is really anxious to get people back, it seems to be working reasonably well. The number of men who reach the end of the pipe-line and are then rejected is very small indeed, which in view of the acute tribal upheaval says much for the good sense of the Kikuyu. There is a parallel procedure for reducing some of the unjustifiably long sentences imposed by the courts during the Emergency. Present attitudes count for more than past crimes. About 500 convicted persons a month are being released in this way, after remission of sentence, mostly through the pipe-line.

The two main problems are what is to happen to the residue of detainees who are completely uncooperative and how far any further prosecutions should take place, based on evidence obtained, directly or indirectly, in the camps. Until recently the estimate of residual 'hard-core' was well up in the thousands. It is now much reduced, probably to hundreds, as a result of experience in more sensible methods of rehabilitation. The turning point for many men has come when an apparently very difficult group has been put with a larger number who are nearly ready to go out. This more hopeful atmosphere and, usually, proximity to the reserves where one can see with one's own eyes what agricultural and social progress is being made, convince many that they had better get out while the going is good.

But there may still be some left and while unorthodox methods are justified up to a point, no one can contemplate with equanimity keeping people indefinitely detained without trial. The favoured idea is a restricted area land settlement scheme. But this would be quite unsuitable for some of those detained primarily because of political leadership. Some risks could and should be taken.

K by Eirene White, M.P.

liamentary Delegation to Kenya

On the point of prosecutions, in my view the law, which has been stretched in many ways during the Emergency, should now be stretched so as to disregard crimes revealed in the confessions which are part of the normal rehabilitation procedure. There are hundreds of self-confessed murderers in camp. While the confession itself is not used in evidence, in some cases other evidence is found following from the confession. But the whole thing is so arbitrary and so contrary to the present policy of reconciliation that it had better be dropped.

Another problem following release is the uncertainty of finding work. There are still restrictions on movement, particularly into Nairobi. To leave camp with no job is obviously demoralising. But the general momentum of progress in Kikuyu country is remarkable. Land consolidation proceeds apace. It is estimated that from half to two-thirds of the families who have been forced to live in villages for security reasons will decide to remain instead of rebuilding the widely scattered homesteads. This greatly eases the provision of water, clinics, play centres and so on, all of which are a boon to the overworked women of the tribe. The larger farmers will no doubt wish to live on their own land. Agricultural production is increasing, but if future fragmentation is prevented, the problem of the younger sons will be acute. The report on some form of social security has not yet been published, but it must be before long. Otherwise there will be serious trouble in other districts, in particular Nyanza, where there is also severe overcrowding and fragmentation, but where the people lack the emotional post-Emergency impetus of the Kikuyu and where too, they are much further from alternative industrial work.

Loans for Social Services Essential

Wherever we went, the need for capital was obvious. Long-term loans at low rates of interest would make an immense difference. Housing and water supplies are a case in point. In Nairobi, though not elsewhere, the full economic rent is charged for municipal housing, which makes it impossible for most Africans to live with their families. Some children have to be left in the reserves. More money for education is another crying need. It is hoped to provide schooling for all children in Nairobi in a few years' time. To do so through the colony, at present rates of progress, will take till 1985.

All these questions underlie the forthcoming elections, to be held in the first ten days in March, for eight African members of the Legislative Council. This election is unpredictable. Not only is it the first direct African election in Kenya. It is based on a fancy franchise which gives from one to three votes per elector according to qualifications. The keynote is likely to be not party allegiance, as parties do not

yet exist, nor even policy or principles, but largely tribal affiliation and even clan relationship within the tribe, where two or more candidates of one tribe are contesting a seat. Personalities may count for something, but I was assured that it will probably not be for much.

Low Record of Registration

The registrations of voters, totalling 126,508 was low compared with estimates of possible voters going up to 500,000 out of a total African population of nearly six millions. Genuine indifference seems to account for much of this. Some disliked disclosing income or property, but this does not seem to have been the major ground for not registering. The Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru could register only on production of a loyalty certificate supplied by the administration. There are widespread complaints that this was unfairly withheld from many who were unconnected with Mau Mau, but who could not, for various reasons, join the Home Guard or do other work which counted as 'positive loyalty'. No doubt the whole thing will be dropped when this election is past. But meanwhile it has had peculiar effects, as the Meru have more votes than the Kikuyu and it is quite likely that their candidate, Mr. Bernard Mate, will beat the much more experienced Mr. Eluid Mathu, the present representative member, who has to share Kikuyu votes with Mr. David Waruhiu.

In Nairobi, where one would have expected a heavy registration, only 2,348 out of an estimated African population of 140,000 have votes. A further 1,194 have registered to vote for candidates in their home districts instead of in Nairobi. This again encourages tribalism. Two Luo candidates, Mr. Argwings-Kodhek and Mr. Tom Mboya confront one another in Nairobi, with Mr. Gikonyo, a Kikuyu and the sitting representative member and Mr. Kas-yoka, Kamba, as the other contestants. Up to five or six candidates were disqualified for failure to pass the English tests. In Central Nyanza, Mr. Ohanga, the one African minister, has a stiff fight. There is no free postal delivery, so that electioneering in vast areas with a selective and multiple franchise must be singularly difficult. It is vitally important that some able and articulate African M.P.s should be returned for this critical period before the Lyttelton truce ends in 1960.

The Kenya African elections will be watched with interest by the politically minded in Uganda and Tanganyika. Political power will come to Africans in time in all these territories, but one hopes that when it does, the fissions which are the bane of African public life will be replaced by more solid political groups, based on common ideas. For this to be possible a much better educational foundation is badly needed.

Training Africans for Self-Government

REPORT BY SIR ANDREW COHEN*

AFRICAN education has been completely re-organised and greatly extended as the result of the De Bunsen Committee's Report of 1952. The missions, the Native Government and African Authorities have all co-operated in putting the African education programme into operation. The quality and efficiency of teacher training has been increased by concentrating on 23 teacher training colleges and providing them with able staff and modern equipment, while at the same time the output of teachers has been greatly increased. Nine completely new colleges have been built and others extended. In 1951, ten junior secondary teachers, 130 primary teachers and 430 vernacular teachers qualified. The vernacular grade has now been abolished and in 1956 nearly 900 primary teachers and 66 junior secondary teachers qualified. The salary scales and terms of service of all grades of teachers have been much improved, and they are now broadly on the same terms as the Uganda Civil Service.

Much progress has been made towards consolidating senior secondary schools as two-stream schools offering a four-year course. Very large extensions have been made to the existing schools and three new senior secondary schools have been built. In 1951 the enrolment was 4,700 in Junior Secondary Schools and 800 in Senior Secondary Schools. In 1956 the total enrolment is 11,400, 9,100 in Junior Secondary Schools and 2,300 in Senior Secondary Schools. The number of grant-aided Primary Schools has been increased from 1,400 in 1951 to about 1,900 this year, with many of the schools being upgraded.

There has been a great expansion of technical education, and there are now 26 rural trade schools, 12 government and mission technical schools at the junior secondary level with a total of about 1,500 pupils, while the Kampala Technical Institute has a present enrolment for evening classes of students of all races between 500 and 600.

Makerere College has steadily expanded. In 1951 there were 244 students of whom 88 were from Uganda. This year there are 625 students of whom 211 are from Uganda. The Royal Technical College in Nairobi, which opened this year with 200 students, enrolled nearly 50 from Uganda.

Adult education has been going slowly forward through the literacy classes and other work of the community development department and the work of the extra-mural department of Makerere. The Nsamizi Training Centre at Entebbe has provided training courses for sub-county and county chiefs; legal officers of Native Governments and African authorities; men and women community development assistants; co-operative assistants and leaders of co-operative societies; African traders; wives of chiefs; women club leaders and missionary students; and administrative and other newly appointed officers from overseas.

The Government has also given special attention to the training of Africans for appointment to higher posts in the civil service, which we recognise to be a matter of first class importance. We are now spending nearly £50,000 a year on overseas scholarships to fit people for higher work. There have been 60 Uganda Government scholarships and 70 special scholarships for the further training of African civil servants and teachers and intending entrants to the civil service. In addition scholarships have been awarded by the Native Governments and African Authorities, while a number of people have been sent overseas on short courses arranged departmentally. A training grade was established in the civil service last year designed to provide intensive training for appointment or promotion to higher posts, and 19 Africans have already been appointed to it. Last year a Public Service Commission was established with the object of encouraging by all possible means the appointment of local people to the civil service; the Commission is also charged with the task of satisfying itself of the adequacy of training schemes. At the end of 1951 there were hardly any Africans holding senior posts; now there are nearly 60. This is only a beginning, but we may confidently expect that the number will substantially and steadily increase with the expansion of higher education.

Expansion of Co-operatives

The co-operative movement has made great strides in almost every part of the country. The number of registered societies rose from 400 at the end of 1951 to nearly 1,300 at present, with 12 co-operative unions. The annual turn-over of the societies was estimated at over £4 million in 1955. During the period ten ginneries have been either acquired under the cotton reorganisation scheme, purchased or erected for Co-operative Unions, with substantial assistance from public funds by way of long term loans. As the co-operative movement develops and the cotton crop increases, further ginneries will be erected by co-operative unions during the next five years. In the development of the movement particular attention will need to be paid to the growth and welfare of the primary societies.

In the coffee industry the marketing, processing and sale of the Bugisu arabica crop, grown by peasant farmers, is now controlled, in close co-operation with the Bugisu Co-operative Union, by a board on which the co-operative growers have strong representation. The robusta coffee industry in Buganda has also been re-organised to permit of the entry of growers and co-operative unions into the processing side of the industry. Of the total of 12 licensed curing works, six are now in African ownership and, with the agreement of the Legislative Council given at its last meeting, provision will shortly be made for fuller participation by producers and associations of growers through the medium of estate coffee factories both in Buganda and in other areas where coffee growing is being developed.

* Extracts from a speech by Sir Andrew Cohen to the Legislative Council, 18th December, 1956. Government Printer, P.O. Box 33, Entebbe, Uganda.

PARLIAMENT AND AID FOR GHANA

THE recent debates in the Lords and the Commons have high-lighted a problem which will have to be faced; that of continuing aid to our 'emergent' territories. The Bill itself might well have passed without division had it not been for the inclusion of Clause 3 which cuts off at a stroke on Independence Day all aid to Ghana from Colonial Development and Welfare funds and from the Colonial Development Corporation.

This action comes at a particularly difficult time for the Gold Coast. She has never been demanding in her claims on the C. D. & W. fund, and such demands as she has made have been mainly for the benefit of the Northern Territories which are still poor and backward and, under the protectorate treaties, are our special responsibility. She has admittedly profited by the West African Regional bodies set up with C. D. & W. aid, and by those located in London for the benefit of the Colonial Empire as a whole. She has until recently made little call on the resources of the C.D.C. And any aid she has received has been more than offset by the contribution she has made to our gold and dollar reserves, totalling £153 million in the last five years alone. Meanwhile by far the larger part of the great development she has achieved since the war has been financed from the surpluses of the Cocoa Marketing Board, and from the cocoa export tax, which, in 1954, amounted to 55% of her gross revenue. But this praiseworthy attempt by a new nation to pull itself up by its own bootstraps is now gravely threatened by a slump in cocoa. From a peak price in 1954 of over £500 a ton it has dropped today to around £175. As a result, the Ghana Government is faced with a fall in cocoa duty from £49m. in 1954-55 to around £10m. in 1956-57, and the Cocoa Marketing Board will have to pay out between £4m. and £7m. from reserves to sustain the producer price.

But, the particular situation of Ghana apart, a problem does exist and it is one which involves a major act of policy. What is remarkable is that it was not earlier foreseen and provided for. Last July there was a lengthy debate in the House on the Overseas Resources Development Act which amended the powers of the C.D.C. This would have been an excellent opportunity for the Government to put forward its ideas on the future of the C.D.C. in the emergent territories. Aneurin Bevan asked whether the Corporation would be prevented from making further investments in areas which became self-governing, but his question remained unanswered. Other Labour members, without apparently recognising the full significance of the line they were following, preferred to stress the difficulty of control by Parliament of money invested, or of projects embarked on, in the semi-independent territory of Southern Rhodesia. Again, about this time the Government was instructing C.D.C. to enter into no new commitments in Ghana in the six months prior to Independence Day; and was negotiating with Malaya regarding its C. D. & W. commitments there

in the light of that territory's coming independence. Yet when Commonwealth development was debated in the House at the end of November it had nothing to contribute and could only take note of what had been said; and when the Ghana Bill came before the House it became clear that the Government's only concrete policy was a purely negative one, that of cutting off abruptly all existing types of aid.

C. D. & W. Grants to Cease

In regard to Development and Welfare funds the Government had something of a case. There is, apparently a constitutional difficulty in extending the use of the funds voted under the 1940 to 1955 Acts to territories which can no longer be defined as dependent. Moreover, there is possibly some impropriety about aid for independent members of the Commonwealth being administered from the Colonial Office. This was sufficient justification apparently for depriving Ghana of all C. D. & W. aid immediately. Lennox-Boyd hoped that Ghana would continue to make use of the regional agencies *on a contributory basis*, but confirmed that she would be barred from benefit from the central organisations. He also announced a once-for-all grant of £350,000 from the Commonwealth Services Vote for a special purpose, which compares ill with the £17.7 millions which Emergency expenditure apart, is to be given to Malaya. The only other concession the Government would make was to renew a promise made in the previous November but apparently not yet implemented, to hold talks on the whole problem at some time in the future with the other members of the Commonwealth.

The attitude of the Opposition was straightforward enough. It was that this sudden cutting off of aid was a cruel rebuff at a time of need, and in the moment of independence, and that it was particularly improper in view of our special obligations to the Northern Territories and Togoland which we were now shifting onto the shoulders of Ghana. As an interim measure, some legislative device should be sought, acceptable to both the Ghana and the British Parliaments, enabling the continuance of C. D. & W. aid for a given period; and, for the long term, proposals for an organisation on the lines of the Colombo Plan should be worked out.

The case of the Colonial Development Corporation was quite different. The Overseas Resources Development Act of 1948 stated clearly that it could operate in any territory which was dependent at the time of the Act's commencement, and made no proviso about a change of status. A deliberate clause of exclusion had therefore to be inserted in the Ghana Bill to deprive her of this aid. Again the Government's excuse was that the word 'Colonial' in the title of the Corporation would be offensive to Ghana and that the continuance of aid was inconsistent with the original purpose of the Act. It refused to be drawn on its views as to the future of the C.D.C. and, instead, catalogued the sources of aid which

would be open to Ghana. These were the Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd., the Export Credits Guarantee Dept., the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary fund, and the London money market.

The Opposition pointed out that these were all purely financing bodies, to which the Gold Coast had had access during the period of her present status. In particular the C.D.F.C. Ltd. had disadvantages in that it charged high rates of interest and was tied to certain particular firms. None of them fulfilled the special functions for which the C.D.C. was designed. The Corporation was intended to fill a vacuum in the field of low profit and long-term enterprises, and in some cases to act as the link between private and public enterprise. Moreover, Ghana would be in particular need of the skills and the staff of experts which the C.D.C. has so ably built up over the years. In general if the C.D.C. was to be barred from the emergent territories the loss would not only be theirs. Obviously, if the field of its operations were to be so rapidly and arbitrarily shrunk, the Corporation's investment policy would be made much more difficult, and its staff, with their future jeopardised, would tend to drift away. The Labour Members, therefore advocated a simple change of name to eliminate the colonial stigma, and a continuation of the Corporation's activities without break. In the Upper House Lord Ogmores made a good point when he spoke of the inconvenience caused to British firms who were in negotiation with the Gold Coast government and the C.D.C. when the six months' ban was clamped down. One of these firms was quoted as writing, 'How can we negotiate with a financial institution whose policy can be so suddenly and arbitrarily changed?'

Commodity Prices the Key

The whole subject is going to require a good deal of thought. It is attractive to envisage a kind of Commonwealth SUNFED, with the senior members loyally subscribing for the advancement of those less fortunately placed, but there are difficulties. Most of the Commonwealth countries are themselves importers of capital and there would probably be a great struggle over priorities. Moreover Parliament might, and rightly, become very anxious over its diminished control of the funds it voted. Should we be happy, for example, to see United Kingdom funds being used for the development of the Bantu areas in accordance with South Africa's policy of apartheid? But above all, much as we agree on the necessity for the expansion of financial and technical aid to the dependent and the emergent territories, let us never forget that these efforts can be set at nought, and the whole future of these countries jeopardised, unless we evolve a valid system for the control of commodity prices. The case of Ghana with its cocoa problem proves this to the hilt, and it is not unique. James Griffiths stressed the point in the Ghana debate and he was reinforced by Harold Davies who quoted MacMahon Ball as saying of South East Asia that the stability of prices would be worth many Colombo Plans if we could find a

formula for it. We have also the authority of the General Secretary of the United Nations who said in his last Annual Report, 'Furthermore a change of only 5% in average export prices is approximately equivalent to the entire annual inflow of private and public capital and grants to under-developed countries . . . The stabilisation of the prices of primary products should, I believe, have a high priority in the intensified programme for economic development'. This is the essential point, and, in this field, it is on this issue that the Government and the Labour Opposition most bitterly divide.

T. F. BETTS

Eyeless in Ghana

(Continued from page 4)

terrible beating. Revenue is falling with national income and Ghana will not be given the same privileged access to London as the Gold Coast enjoyed. At the very moment when the utmost effort ought to be made to mobilise savings, even the existing avenues are being dried out.

At the same time, the crisis will further affect the possibility of getting on with the Volta Scheme which would be the only immediate way of helping a quick diversification of the country. The delays imposed on Ghana by the incompetence of its advisers are taking a heavy toll. The development programme, which remains lopsided, will have to be further pruned and it is to be feared that it will be the productive schemes which will, for comprehensible political reasons, take the brunt of the cuts.

It is to be hoped that the Gold Coast Government will begin to realise that it will have to adopt a completely different attitude to planning and the choice of advisers if it is to survive. The political troubles (which have been much exacerbated by the economic blunders committed) have almost completely riveted attention. Yet the economic weakness and the administrative failures will in the longer run play a much more decisive role than is suggested by the neglect with which they have been treated by Dr. Nkrumah's Government and the Labour Party. If not changed they will give rise in these areas to violent denunciations of 'continued colonialism.' In the end, the disintegration of the Sterling Area will be complete and the Soviet Bloc will acquire strength which could easily be denied to it.

The latter must press for a reconsideration of our economic policy affecting the erstwhile colonies and should insist on facilitating the mobilisation of the resources of these areas for their own development by organising a Commonwealth Central Bank as a pool of emerging revolving credits. If such stand-by resources were available savings need not be sterilised.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Nkrumah, and other Governments in the same position, are pursuing their present policy solely as a result of pressure from London. Otherwise the outlook for economic development would be sombre indeed, and independence might prove to have been purchased at too heavy a price.

THOMAS BALOGH

Guide to Books . . .

An Introduction to the History of East Africa

By Zoë Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth
(Cambridge University Press. 15s. School Edition, 9s. 6d.)

It is admittedly no easy task to write a school text book on the history of East Africa. There is the problem of presenting enough of the ill-documented tribal past to provide an intelligible background to the single century of extensive western contact. There is the problem of writing for African, Asian and European schools with the widely different preconceptions which their pupils bring to their studies. There is the over-riding problem that the reliable secondary works on which a text book author normally depends are confined in this case to the coast-bound works of Coupland, which in any case break off at 1890, to some missionary studies and to a handful of biographies. All the same, this is a disappointing performance that Cambridge Press has elected to produce as a companion volume to the excellent little text book of West African history by Professor J. D. Fage published two years ago. It is inaccurate, highly dogmatic, and, worst of all, crude. It will certainly inflame race prejudice instead of modifying it. Imagine, for example, the justifiable rage of the descendants of Speke's 'prudish and dressy Baganda' on reading (on p.120) that 'the two most usual articles of clothing were the bead necklet worn by both men and women, and a girdle made of grass and worked over with very small beads into beautiful patterns, worn by women only. Imagine the polite scorn of the young East African Indian, as he reads (on p.79) that 'Hindus do not regard it as a part of their religion to make converts, for they recognise that their vegetarian and teetotal habits make it difficult to absorb those who were not born Hindus.' Imagine the rising *heshima* of the Arab schoolboy of Zanzibar or Mombasa when he finds (on p.30) a description of 'the long, infinitely pathetic line of slaves yoked together', beside whom 'marched the exultant Arab traders with ready whips for the weary and ready swords for those who could march no more'.

There were ugly aspects of East Africa's pre-colonial past, and one would not want them suppressed. But they could be kept in some reasonable proportion to the achievements, and they could be discussed in the language of compassion rather than with the relish which savours of propaganda. The contentious effect, of course, is heightened by the fact that the Europeans, and especially the British, figure in contrast, on page after page, in chapter after chapter, as the heroic suppressors of slavery, in which guise they are held to justify one long digression on Clarkson and Wilberforce, and another long digression in order to follow the Nigerian career of Lugard. All this leaves little space, only 75 pages in fact, for an intelligible description of the stupendous changes wrought in East African life during the colonial period. It is only fair to the authors to stress that within these narrow limits they have done rather

well. They are slightly wrong in their facts about the Uganda Railway and the East African High Commission. They do not know how to spell Lyttelton. But they have succeeded in racing through the main developments from about 1895 to 1956, with tact and judgment, and the last two chapters, which deal with the colonial history of Uganda and Tanganyika, are by comparison with the rest so competently and sympathetically written that they might almost be by a different hand.

Roland Oliver

Rhodes of Africa

By Felix Gross (Cassell. 25s.)

'So little done—so much to do.' His dying words were true of Africa but not of the life of Cecil Rhodes. The dreamy, fourth son of a poor, country parson, sent to African sunshine for his tuberculosis in 1870, became the biggest farmer in the world, a Prime Minister at 40, the moving spirit of De Beers, of Rand Gold, of the railways which were to achieve his 'Cape to Cairo' dream and chief architect of British Africa north of the Cape, culminating in Rhodesia.

Mr. Cross gives a detailed chronicle of these events, but the reader is soon driven to realise that he dislikes the British in Africa not on account of Africans, but for the sake of the Boers 'that heroic and freedom loving people'. His dislike for Rhodes as arch-representative of British commercial imperialism dominates his attitude to the man. It is this emotional outlook which prevents the book achieving the academic status that such obvious and painstaking research would otherwise have merited.

There is a useful study of the development and amalgamation of De Beers which includes the activities of such gentlemen as Alfred Beit and Barney Barnato, both engaged in carving out financial empires. Only Rhodes sought wealth directly for political ends and the 1888 campaign against Lobengula when the representatives of innumerable European interests were literally camping outside his kraal, is a classic in Charter Company development.

It is not enough to write off Rhodes as a businessman who used 'jingoism' to serve his own ends. He must be judged in the light of contemporary ideals, not those of 60 years later, as one must judge his teacher John Ruskin, from whom, as an undergraduate, he learnt 'this is what England must either do or perish; she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her worthiest men; seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her feet on . . . teaching her colonists that their first aim is to advance the power of England . . . for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace'. Both men lived at a time when there existed no international accountability and little concern for indigenous peoples. The alternative to the building of an enlightened Commonwealth was 'Little Englanders' and that alternative would have painted Africa not red, but the red, yellow and black of Imperial Germany, already in alliance with the Boers. It is difficult

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to believe that the Africa created by Rhodes, with all his faults, was not more liberal than that envisaged by the Kaiser and Paul Kruger.

M. Mortimer

SHORTER NOTICES

The Racial Factor in International Relations by W. R. Crocker. This pamphlet can be warmly recommended as a first-class survey of race relations. In 35 pages Professor Crocker has covered the background to the present conflict, imperialism and the 'white man's burden'; the Indian attitude to caste and race; the acute racial tensions in South Africa, Central Africa and Kenya. He pleads for tolerance, sympathy and courtesy and affirms that economic and social environment, not colour, determine what is so often described as racial inferiority. The warning that the continuance of racial prejudice can have only one ending—bloodshed—comes from a writer with long service in Asia and Africa and wide experience of international affairs through the League of Nations and United Nations. We know of no other pamphlet which gives such an informed summary of racial prejudice and racial tensions. Copies can be obtained at 2s. from Mr. F. Norman, 7, The Grange, London, S.W.19.

African History in the Making by J. McLeod Campbell, D.D. (Edinburgh House Press, 7/6d.). This is a short, but thoughtful book, which seeks, as the writer puts it, to 'spotlight' the Conference on African Education held in Cambridge in the autumn of 1952. Canon Campbell is a supporter of the Capricorn Africa Society, and he believes that the Cambridge Conference applied their principles to its deliberations. He considers that anyone looking back to this century in 500 years time will, 'focus attention on Africa as the highlight of that epoch', and will wonder if we fully realised this at the time. The Conference, he says, came out strongly in favour of the 'mass education' movement. It declared too, in a striking phrase, that 'the African needs English today in the same sense and to the same degree as the Renaissance Englishman needed Greek or Greek thought in Latin forms. English thought could come to Africa with all the liberating power of Greek thought to Europe'. Much of the book deals with matters that apply to any form of education, and has

no special application to Africa, discussing as it does boarding school, technical education and examinations. But when it comes to intelligence tests the Conference, according to Dr. Campbell, say, very reasonably, that 'We do not consider it desirable to import into Africa tests used in England or to place reliance on them before they have been tried and standardised in Africa: they should evolve in their proper educational climate, and this process will be slow'. Finally the Conference and Dr. Campbell were strongly in favour of an education firmly based on the Christian religion and for dependence mainly on the voluntary mission schools heavily subsidised by the State.

The Making of Ghana (Central Office of Information, H.M.S.O., 2/6d.) and **Ghana: A Survey of the Gold Coast on the Eve of Independence** (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 5s.). These two publications describe the development of the Gold Coast from the start of the British connection to the achievement of independence within the Commonwealth. They give a brief account of the country and its people, the introduction of West European institutions, social and economic progress and the growth of African political responsibility. A map and some statistical material are included in each.

South Africa's Non-White Workers by Muriel Horrell (South African Institute of Race Relations, 4/6d.). Miss Horrell has compiled a survey of various forms of national-economic activities undertaken by the Non-White Labour Force. It is well indexed and illustrated with graphs. The basic facts concerning each section of the population, the disabilities by which they are affected, also the legislation are clearly set out, and make this pamphlet a valuable reference work for the student of South African economic and racial problems.

United Nations Special Study on Educational Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, 1954-56. (New York, 1956.) This study presents an interesting compilation of statistics relating to school enrolments and literacy in colonial areas. In general, it follows the Jeffrey, and other British reports on colonial education, in emphasising the need to relate education with local life and community development for adults.

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